Iban OC6
Makassar OC6
Gorontolo OC4
Sangirese OC9

I 291 I [301]

[517 cont.] cotton garment in various colors for the lower part of the body, a similar jacket, and a sort of corset or rattan rings, all mounted in small, vertically placed rings of beaten copper, which tightly fits the body (2).

2. T.J. Bezemer, "De Binnenlandsche Stammen van Borneo [The Interior Tribes of Borneo]," in De Volken van Nederlands Indië, I, p. 283.

M 288 531

[518] An important independent weaving industry is found on the small island of Saleyer, just off southern Celebes. Bright colors are very popular, and checked and striped patterns are preferred.

G 286 291

Of the weaving done on northern Celebes we shall mention only the Bèntenan kain. Bèntenan is a little place on the southeast coast of the northern peninsular of Celebes. The fabrics are named after this little place, but they are also made in other places. They are woven cloths, sometimes ikat, sometimes not, which originally seem to have been used only by mothers to carry their babies on their backs, but later, by sewing together three of these quite narrow kain, they were used also as sarongs. In contrast with most of the cloth woven in the archipelago, the Bèntenan fabrics are nearly always tubular cloths woven with a circular warp. The patterns are geometrical figures and are very similar to the ikat fabrics of the more easterly part of the archipelago. For example, they bear human figures with raised hands (1). Originally, little Bèntenan cloths were used to cover

G [292 565]

1. See Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch-Indië, II, pp. 270 ff.

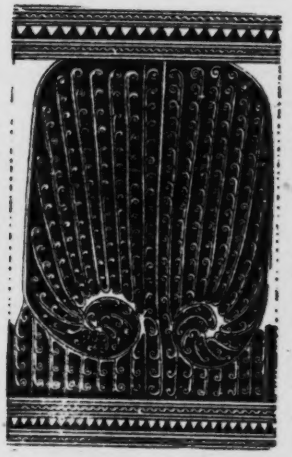
the seats of notables and priests.

S 286 291 531

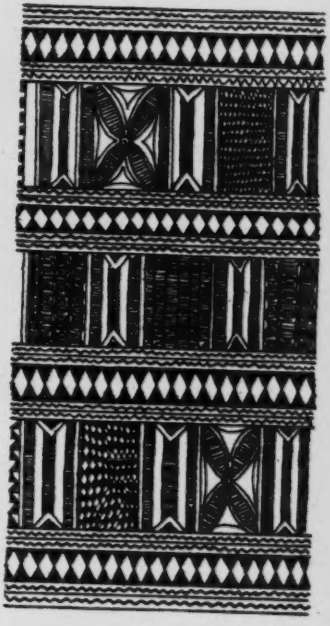
The beautiful koffo fabrics come from the Sangir and Talaud Islands. Nothing shows the relationship between weaving and plaiting better than the koffo cloth. "The pattern of the Sangirese

1:Alkema & Bezemer--624 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Ngadju OC9
Makassar OC6

N
M
531



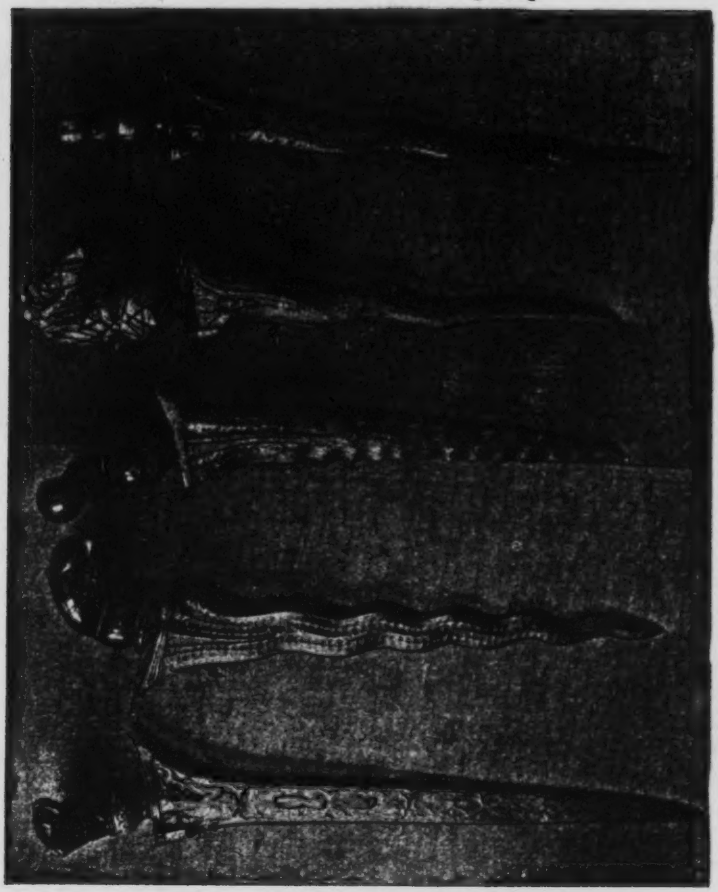
Bamboo Ornamentation on a Bamboo Tube of the Ot Danom, Southern and Eastern Borneo



Bamboo Ornamentation from South Celebes

1:Alkema & Bezemer--644 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Makassar 066

411
531
293



Krises with Pamor Work from Southern Celebes
Museum Rotterdam

Javanese OE5
Sundanese OE7
Redjang-Lampong OE2
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

RL
Sn
J
I
335
342
341

[77 cont.] of Java where heavy rains fall. It is also sometimes used in the Sundanese lands and in the Redjang districts on Sumatra, where it is called atok pakul.

g. Decoration of the Houses

I
342
531
532

Among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, the houses are built without any decoration. In general the large, windowless houses have a very unpleasant appearance. Through lack of upkeep they soon look dilapidated, especially when inferior materials, such as bamboo and tree bark, are used for construction. More work in the way of ornamentation is put on the exterior of the houses in only a few areas. This is the case, for example, on central Sumatra. The houses here are often [78] artistically decorated with carving, especially on the piles, uprights, and beams, as well as on the doors and the little windows, which are rarely lacking. Often these carved figures are painted in all kinds of colors, red, white, black, and blue, and small glittering mirrors are put here and there on the exterior walls. The edges of the roof, too, are often decorated with strips of beaten tin plate, and the tanduk (roof tips) are also covered with tin plate. A Malayan house so decorated often has a gay appearance (1).

MI
342
531
532

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving en Taal, Vol. II, p. 153.

J
342
531

On Java, too, there are some decorated houses. This is the case especially among the well-to-do. In Koedoe, the capital of the regency of the same name in the Japara Residency, the houses generally excel in graceful carvings. The uprights of the pandåpå of chiefs' dwellings usually bear carvings that are never painted and only rarely gilded. It must also be noted

MK
342
531

Makassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
New Guinea OJ1

MK 342 531 [78 cont.] that the houses of the well-to-do among the Makassarese are often built with wood of various colors, and they are assembled so artistically that the walls seem to be inlaid.

G 342 356 531 Among the Minahasa, at least the Christian population, it is customary to whitewash the houses with a kind of pipe-clay, and, by mixing this with other materials, to make a blue color that is applied to window-frames, posts, and shutters.

All this is exceptional, however.

G 353 356 372 The interior of the dwelling likewise does not excel in decorativeness. The interior is usually blackened by smoke because cooking is customarily done inside the house. Since there are no chimneys, the smoke stays in the air as long as it cannot escape through doors or cracks and covers everything with a black layer. There is, of course, no lack of vermin in the dwellings.

G S U I 343 We have now discussed the dwellings, but we must not fail to mention a small building [79] often found near the dwelling, the rice granary. As a rule it has the shape of a truncated quadrilateral pyramid standing upside down. On Java it is called lumbung, on Sumatra rangkiang. Where granaries are not built, rice is stored in the dwelling. The Alfoer of the Minahasa, for example, use large barrels made of tree bark, called sangkor, for this purpose, which hold up to 100 gantang.

g. Household Equipment

I NG 352 513 285 The household equipment found in a native dwelling is not usually very significant. In general it is difficult to name any typical objects because of the differences among the various peoples.

The sleeping place is generally a couch of bamboo raised slightly off the floor. It is covered with one or more mats, tikar, with which is used a couple of pillows, stuffed with kapok or often with rice-straw (1) or dry leaves; the latter is used only

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556 554

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ka tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in